

Message Text

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PLEASE PASS FOLLOWING TO SEN. BIRCH BAYH IMMEDIATELY:

FOLLOWING TEXT RECEIVED FROM YOUR OFFICE. QUOTE.

IT IS MY PLEASURE TO SPEAK TO YOU TODAY ABOUT ONE OF THE
MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES FACING THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY --
DISARMAMENT. I WILL NOT DWELL AT LENGTH UPON THE STAKES
INVOLVED IN MEETING THE CHALLENGE OF ARMS COMPETITION. MOST
OF US HERE HAVE LIVED THE BETTER PORTION OF OUR ADULT LIVES
IN A TECHNOLOGICAL ERA IN WHICH WAR COULD RESULT IN THE
DESTRUCTION OF CIVILIZATION AS WE KNOW IT.

ALTHOUGH THIRTY YEARS HAVE PASSED SINCE THE HOLOCAUSTS OF
HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI, AND THE HORRORS OF ATOMIC WAR HAVE
LOST THE FORCE OF IMMEDIACY IN MEN'S MEMORIES, I BELIEVE
EVERY ONE OF US, AS ACTIVE PARTICIPANTS IN OUR RESPECTIVE
GOVERNMENTS, IS AWARE THAT THE DANGERS OF WARFARE HAVE NOT
DECLINED SINCE WORLD WAR II, BUT HAVE DRAMATICALLY INCREASED
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DURING THE PAST THREE DECADES, THE POWER OF THE LARGEST BOMB
HAS INCREASED 4,500 TIMES. THE ARSENALS OF THE MAJOR
POWERS HAVE INCREASED TO STAGGERING SIZES, SO THAT THE
UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION NOW POSSESS THE EQUIVA-

LENT OF MORE THAN A MILLION HIROSHIMAS--MORE THAN 7,000 TIMES THE EXPLOSIVE POWER USED BY ALL SIDES IN WORLD WAR TWO.

IT IS INCUMBENT UPON OUR GOVERNMENTS TO ENSURE THAT THE EARTH DOES NOT EXPERIENCE THE DISASTER FOR WHICH MAN HAS DEVELOPED SUCH A TREMENDOUS POTENTIAL. IT IS INCUMBENT UPON ALL OF US TO SPUR OUR GOVERNMENTS TOWARD EFFECTIVE CONTROL OF ARMAMENTS. THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE AND NO ROOM FOR FAILURE.

WE MUST NOT DELUDE OURSELVES, HOWEVER. WE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO CHANGE THE NATURE OF MAN OR THE INTERNATIONAL ORDER OVERNIGHT. THERE WILL REMAIN SERIOUS DIFFERENCES AND CONFLICTS OF INTEREST AMONG NATIONS. SCARCITY, POVERTY AND AGE-OLD PREJUDICES INSURE THIS AND THE CONSEQUENT TEMPTATION TO EMPLOY VIOLENCE.

WHAT WE MUST DO IS FIND WAYS TO RESOLVE THESE CONFLICTS IN PEACE, AND IT IS IN THIS REGARD THAT ARMS CONTROL BECOMES SO IMPORTANT. BY LIMITING ARMS, WE NOT ONLY REDUCE THE DESTRUCTIVE FORCES AVAILABLE TO NATIONS AND DECREASE LEVELS OF VIOLENCE, WE ALSO FREE TREMENDOUS RESOURCES TO MEET PROBLEMS AND RESOLVE CONFLICTS WITH NO FORCE AT ALL.

THE RESOURCES WE DEVOTE TO ARMS ARE PHENOMENAL IN SIZE. IN 1973, THE WORLD SPENT MORE THAN \$240 BILLION ON DEFENSE. AT THE SAME TIME IT LARGELY IGNORED THE NEEDS OF A GROWING POPULATION. EXPENDITURES FOR EDUCATION LAGGED FAR BEHIND, AND THE NUMBER OF ILLITERATE CONTINUED ITS STEADY RISE. IN THE DEVELOPING NATIONS, WHERE POVERTY AND DISEASE ARE CLOSELY RELATED, ANNUAL PUBLIC OUTLAYS FOR HEALTH CARE AVERAGED ABOUT ONE-FOURTH OF MILITARY EXPENDITURES.

IN 1972 OVER THIRTY COUNTRIES WERE RECORDED AS DONORS OF ECONOMIC AID. THE VALUE OF THEIR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE WAS UNCLASSIFIED

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LESS THAN SIX PER CENT OF THEIR MILITARY BUDGETS. THE TOTAL GLOBAL EXPENDITURE FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE-KEEPING WAS ONLY .03 PER CENT OF EXPENDITURES FOR NATIONAL MILITARY ESTABLISHMENTS.

CLEARLY, OUR WORLD DEFENSE BUDGET IS A RESOURCE WHICH HAS GONE LARGELY UNTAPPED. IF WE CAN REDIRECT THAT RESOURCE TOWARDS MEETING THE UNDERLYING CAUSES OF GLOBAL UNREST BY PURSUING DISARMAMENT, OUR SERVICES WILL BE DOUBLY IMPORTANT.

IN LOOKING AT THE PRESENT STATE OF ARMS CONTROL WE SEE THAT THERE HAVE BEEN SOME DRAMATIC ACHIEVEMENTS IN MAN'S EFFORTS TO COPE WITH THE DANGERS OF MODERN ARMS. IT

IS A GREAT SUCCESS THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO NUCLEAR WAR.
IT IS A GREAT SUCCESS THAT THERE IS A DOCTRINE OF DETER-
RENCE WHICH IS ACCEPTED BY THE SUPERPOWERS. IT IS A
GREAT SUCCESS THAT WE CAN SERIOUSLY TALK ABOUT CONTROLLING
THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE.

WE HAVE A LIMITED NUCLEAR TEST BAN TREATY, A NUCLEAR-WEA-
PONS NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY, AND A BACTERIAL WEAPONS
CONVENTION. THE STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATIONS TALKS MUST BE
CONSIDERED ONE OF MAN'S GREAT POLITICAL TRIUMPHS--ONE OF
THE GREAT TESTAMENTS TO MANS ABILITY IN CRISIS TO
REACH OUT FOR SENSE AND SANITY.

BUT OUR ACCOMPLISHMENTS, AS IMPORTANT AS THEY ARE, ARE
MINIMAL IN RELATION TO THE SIZE OF THE PROBLEM. THEY
TOUCH ONLY THE TIP OF THE ICEBERG, AND IN THIS RESPECT
PRESENT A DANGER--A DANGER THAT WE WILL FAIL TO SEE OR
IGNORE THE MASS OF THE OBSTACLE.

A COLLEAGUE OF MINE IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE RECENTLY
REMARKED, "YOU CANNOT RESTRAIN A TIGER BY PUTTING BARS ON
ONLY ONE SIDE OF THE CAGE." SIMILARLY YOU CANNOT STOP
THE ARMS RACE WITH A FEW, SOMETIMES LOOSE, ARMS AGREE-
MENTS.

THE TASK BEFORE US IS ENORMOUS. WHILE SETTING QUANTITA-
TIVE LIMITS ON STRATEGIC ARMS, THE SOVIET UNION AND THE
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UNITED STATES HAVE EMBARKED UPON A COURSE OF IMPROVING
THE QUALITY OF THEIR WEAPONS SYSTEMS. THE EMPHASIS TODAY
IS UPON NEWER, LARGER, MORE ACCURATE AND MORE POWERFUL
WEAPONS. OLD SYSTEMS MUST BE REPLACED TO ALLOW FOR BET-
TER WEAPONS WHICH PROVIDE MORE FLEXIBILITY, AND NUCLEAR
STOCKPILES GROW IN WHAT HAS BECOME KNOWN AS VERTICAL
WEAPONS PROLIFERATION.

AT THE SAME TIME THE DANGERS OF HOLCAUST ARE COMPOUNDED BY
THE HORIZONTAL SPREAD OF NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY. ENCOURAGED
BY THE EXAMPLE OF THE GREAT POWERS' ARMS RACE, THREATENED
BY DISCUSSIONS OF HIGHLY ACCURATE SYSTEMS WHICH COULD BE
USED AGAINST THEM, AND SEEKING A PROMINENT ROLE IN WORLD
AFFAIRS, MORE AND MORE COUNTRIES ARE CONSIDERING THE
DEVELOPMENT OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. THERE ARE NOW FIVE DE-
CLARED NUCLEAR POWERS--AND A SIXTH THAT HAS SET OFF A
NUCLEAR EXPLOSION. BUT MORE IMPORTANTLY, THE TECHNOLOGY
OF THESE DEADLY DEVICES IS EASY TO COME BY. ALREADY,
MORE THAN TWENTY COUNTRIES HAVE THE FISSIONABLE MATERIAL
THAT COULD TECHNICALLY BE DIVERTED TO ARMS MANUFACTURE, AND
THE NUMBER WILL INEVITABLY GROW AS THE DEMAND FOR NUCLEAR
REACTORS SPREADS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

THE PROBLEMS ARE EXTREMELY COMPLEX. IN ADDITION TO THOSE I HAVE MENTIONED EARLIER, WE HAVE SEEN A DRAMATIC INCREASE IN THE CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRADE; WE SEE AN ABSENCE OF TWO OF THE POWERS POSSESSING NUCLEAR ARMS IN WORLD DISARMAMENT FORUMS. YET TIME IS PASSING QUICKLY. TECHNOLOGY IS RAPIDLY ADVANCING AND MUST NOT BE PERMITTED TO PASS US BY. IT IS CRUCIAL THAT IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE WE COME TO TERMS WITH THE CHALLENGES THAT FACE US.

IT IS NOT DIFFICULT TO PROPOSE A NUMBER OF STEPS TO FURTHER THE GOAL OF DISARMAMENT. BUT THESE STEPS, NO MATTER HOW SENSIBLE, CANNOT BE IMPOSED UPON THE WORLD. THEY WILL BE OF VALUE ONLY IF THERE IS A COMMON VIEW THAT THE DANGERS OF INCREASED ARMAMENTS OUTWEIGH THEIR VALUE TO EACH INDIVIDUAL NATION. THIS IS A CRITICAL LESSON OF THE NEW ERA IN WHICH WE FIND OURSELVES AND IT MUST GUIDE OUR ACTIONS.

WITH THIS IN MIND, I WOULD LIKE TO MAKE SOME RECOMMENDATIONS
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AND I HOPE THAT YOU WILL CONSIDER THEM CAREFULLY AS DISARMAMENT ISSUES ARISE IN YOUR COUNTRIES.

FIRST, WE MUST PRESS FOR THE EARLY CONCLUSION OF A TREATY BANNING THE TESTING OF ALL NUCLEAR WEAPONS. I BELIEVE THE CURRENT THRESHOLD BAN IS INADEQUATE AND THAT THE UNITED STATES COULD ACCEPT A COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN WITHOUT THREAT TO OUR NATIONAL SECURITY OR ARMS DETERRENT. WHILE WE CANNOT BE CERTAIN OF SOVIET DESIRES IN THIS AREA, IT APPEARS TO ME THAT THE TIME IS RIPE FOR FURTHER PROGRESS.

SECOND, THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION MUST DEMONSTRATE A WILLINGNESS TO IMPLEMENT TRULY EFFECTIVE ARMS CONTROL. AT VLADIVOSTOK, CEILINGS ON STRATEGIC ARMS WERE SET. IT IS NOW TIME FOR ARMS DENIAL. QUANTITATIVE ARMS LIMITS MUST BE REDUCED AND QUALITATIVE IMPROVEMENT MUST BE LIMITED. THE GREAT POWERS MUST REALIZE THAT VERTICAL PROLIFERATION MUST CEASE IF WE HOPE FOR PROGRESS IN HARNESSING THE HORIZONTAL SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

THIRD, WE SHOULD SEEK AGREEMENT AMONG THE NATIONS POSSESSING NUCLEAR WEAPONS TO OPENLY PLEDGE TO NEVER EMPLOY NUCLEAR WEAPONS AGAINST THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH DO NOT HAVE THEM. WITH THE ADVENT OF MORE SOPHISTICATED AND MORE ACCURATE NUCLEAR WEAPONS SYSTEMS, MANY OF THE NON-NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES PERCEIVE AN INCREASED THREAT TO THEIR OWN SECURITY AND THIS TREND MUST BE REVERSED. THOSE WHO CHOOSE TO ABSTAIN FROM NUCLEAR DETERRENCE MUST BE MADE SECURE IN THEIR DECISION.

FOURTH, WE MUST COME TO TERMS WITH THE PROBLEMS OF HORIZONTAL NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION. SAFEGUARD MECHANISMS

ADMINISTERED BY THE INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY
MUST BE STRENGTHENED. THERE MUST BE INCREASED PROTECTION
OF NUCLEAR MATERIALS TO REDUCE RISKS OF THEFT, AND THE
NUCLEAR NATIONS MUST JOIN TOGETHER AND PROVIDE STRONG
CONTROLS ON REPROCESSING NUCLEAR MATERIALS. WE MUST EN-
COURAGE WIDER PARTICIPATION IN A STRENGTHENED NON-PROLIFER-
ATION TREATY, AND, AT THE SAME TIME, FIND A WAY TO DEAL
WITH THE PROBLEMS OF PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS IN A
MANNER WHICH DOES NOT DISCRIMINATE AGAINST THE INTERESTS
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OF THE HAVE-NOT NATIONS AS THEY PERCEIVE THEM. AN INTER-
NATIONAL AGENCY TO OVERSEE PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS, IF
SUCH EXPLOSIONS CANNOT BE ELIMINATED COMPLETELY, DESERVES
SERIOUS EXPLORATION.

FIFTH, WE MUST ELIMINATE THE DELUSION THAT THE ONLY DANGER
FACING US IS THAT OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION. THE WORLD-WIDE
TRADE IN NON-NUCLEAR ARMS HAS GROWN FROM A WORLD EXPEN-
DITURE OF ABOUT 300 MILLION DOLLARS IN 1952 TO A TOTAL OF
NEARLY 18 BILLION DOLLARS THIS YEAR--A SIX THOUSAND PER-
CENT INCREASE. AMONG THE ARMS BEING TRADED ARE INCREASING
NUMBERS OF THE SO-CALLED "SMART WEAPONS". WE MUST BEGIN
TO TAKE THESE SECONDARY ARMS RACES SERIOUSLY, AND WE
MUST IMMEDIATELY BEGIN THE EXPLORATION OF MEANS TO IMPOSE
INTERNATIONAL CONTROLS UPON THE CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRADE.

SIXTH, WE MUST RESTRUCTURE OUR WORLD DISARMAMENT FORUMS.
THE CONFERENCE ON THE COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT HAS BECOME
NONPRODUCTIVE AND STALE. IT IS UNREPRESENTATIVE OF MANY OF
THE WORLD'S MAJOR POLITICAL AND MILITARY FORCES IN ARMA-
MENT PRODUCTION AND DEPLOYMENT.

ACTIVE AND VITAL FORUMS FOR DISARMAMENT ARE ESSENTIAL,
AND THE TIME FOR REFORM HAS COME. NEW FORUMS MUST BE
ESTABLISHED TO FULLY REFLECT THE MODERN WORLD. THERE MUST
BE LEGITIMIZATION AND ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE GROWING NUMBER
OF EFFORTS AT ARMS CONTROL AND AN ACTIVE AND CONTINUOUS
DIALOGUE AMONG NATIONS ON DISARMAMENT MUST BE RE-INITIA-
TED.

SEVENTH, AND FINALLY ALL OF US HERE MUST WORK WITHIN OUR
OWN GOVERNMENTS TO ENCOURAGE ACTIVE DEBATE ON DISARMAMENT.
TOO OFTEN THE NATIONAL BUREAUCRACIES WHICH SET DISARMAMENT
POLICIES ARE THE VERY AGENCIES WHICH MAKE UP THE DEFENSE
ESTABLISHMENT. LET US MAKE A PROPER PLACE FOR VIEWS FROM
A VARIETY OF GOVERNMENT SECTORS, WHICH HAVE DIFFERENT
PRIORITIES FROM THOSE CONCERNED SOLELY WITH NATIONAL
DEFENSE. LET US HEAR OPINIONS AS TO WHAT THE FAILURE TO
DISARM WILL COST OUR COUNTRIES IN SOCIAL TERMS AS WELL AS
WHAT DISARMAMENT WILL COST THEM IN TERMS OF MILITARY
SECURITY. ONCE SUCH DISCUSSION BECOMES ACCEPTED IN NATIONS

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AROUND THE WORLD, I FEEL CERTAIN THAT IT WILL SPREAD MORE FULLY TO INTERNATIONAL FORUMS AND PROVIDE THE PROPER ATMOSPHERE FOR SOLVING ARMAMENTS PROBLEMS.

FELLOW DELEGATES, THE WORLD WE LIVE IN TODAY IS COMPLEX AND VOLATILE. THE BURDENS WE BEAR IN GOVERNMENT ARE EXTREMELY HEAVY, AND NONE IS HEAVIER THAN THAT OF MAINTAINING PEACE.

I WISH TO THANK YOU FOR YOUR ATTENTION TO MY THOUGHTS REGARDING DISARMAMENT. I CERTAINLY HAVE NOT DEVISED A PANACEA TO CURE WORLD TENSIONS AND ELIMINATE THE POSSIBILITIES OF WAR. I HOPE, HOWEVER, THAT I HAVE IDENTIFIED SOME OF THE PROBLEMS BEFORE US AND THE IMPORTANCE OF REACHING OUR SHARED GOAL OF EFFECTIVE ARMS CONTROL. I ALSO HOPE THAT YOU WILL CONSIDER THE POINTS I HAVE MADE IN THE MONTHS TO COME, AND THAT WHEN WE MEET AGAIN WE WILL HAVE SEEN CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS IN REDUCING THE PERILS FACING THE WORLD.

END OF TEXT. ROBINSON

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